THE PATRIOTIC CITIZENS

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

THE CRISIS BEFORE US.

To James Gordon Bennett, Esq.

I avail myself of your liberal offer, extended to me, to receive and publish arguments and views regarding the important questions which divide and distract the country at the present time. Your willingness that all sides shall be heard in the *Herald* is honorable to your frankness and fair dealing.

In the present discussion, the odds, to my mind, against calm reason appear very great. We find, as you justly state, that probably 150,000 daily copies of newspapers are issued in New York, devoted to a strictly partizan, and many of them to grossly sectional views on political subjects, which may be considered of the most vital importance to the future happiness and well-being of the American people.

In all ages the voice of reason is weak when appealing to an overwhelming tide of fanaticism. In the present crisis, when we find six daily papers, with such an immense circulation, engaged on one side, and the most of them making inflammatory appeals to the excitable passions of human nature, and in behalf of the most ultra doctrines, which directly tend to destroy the harmony and union of the country, the inequality of the contest assumes a magnitude and seriousness that appeals to the common sense of every patriotic mind.

I am a native-born citizen of the United States, with my lot cast among the toiling crowd or masses of this great city, content to labor for my daily bread, and feel that their advancement and happiness would tend

to augment the share enjoyed by myself. I am no politician—I never held an office, and never expect to hold one. The chief and highest interest, and I might say almost the only stake I feel in the government, is that of its union, because on its perpetuity almost everything else short of life depends. My interest in the Union, however, is no more to me than it ought to be to every other citizen, whether native or adopted. I am aware that this is not a period for arguments, however well supported by reason or patriotism, to be heard. Against them at the North, as well as in Europe, are arrayed the abstract dogmas of the church, administered, in many cases, by bigoted clergymen, and also the selfish and crafty cunning of ambitious and, in many cases, unscrupulous politicians, reckless of all considerations beyond their own advancement. Against such odds what is the use of the pen of a humble individual like myself, with a few leisure moments snatched from daily labor, or of a hundred or of a thousand such? Yet privileges enjoin duties, and those persons devoted to a love of the Union are called upon by the highest appeals of duty to contribute what they can to its preservation. The North, or perhaps I should say a large portion of its people, is not prepared to hear the candid difference of opinion between the North and the South fairly stated. The people of the latter section complain that they are daily misrepresented and condemned at the North, unheard; that every effort is made to excite, mislead, and prejudice the minds of the people against them; that their social condition, their patriotism, their progress, and, indeed, everything appertaining to them, is falsely colored or misstated. Truth is suppressed, and faults distorted and magnified. Hence, mutual hatred, contention, bad passions, and excited estrangement have taken the place of the national harmony it was the object of the wise founders of our government to secure, based upon the mutual interests of the country. The patriot may well ask, Why is all this? What excuse is there for it?

It is now eighty-one years since we declared our independence, and sixty-nine years since the adoption of our present constitution; and we but repeat the declaration of all intelligent men, all over the world, that in all the history of the human race, no people have ever made the same progress and enjoyed more universal or a greater amount of social freedom and happiness than those of the United States. This prosperity, the few slaves in the country—compared to the whites—have not only not retarded or marred in any way, but have, on the other hand, largely contributed to produce and to sustain.

THE GOVERNMENT ONE OF COMPROMISES.

At the very outset of forming a constitution mutual concessions and compromises became necessary, without which no government could have been formed. And that great instrument stands out to-day as a noble embodiment of patriotic compromises.

Slavery existed at the period of its adoption as it exists now. It is no worse now than it was then, nor has it been at any time since the cessation of the slave trade in 1808. By referring to Elliot's debates, and other authorities, on the adoption of the constitution, it will be seen that the South proposed to abolish the African slave trade at once, which was opposed by the New England States, which wished to extend the period of its termination to 1820, because Rhode Island and Massachusetts had a considerable number of vessels profitably engaged in the slave trade, or in bringing Africans from Africa to the Southern States. A compromise was finally effected, and the year 1808 fixed upon for its termination.

NEGROES AT THE SOUTH AS PROPERTY.

It has been urged that slaves are property only under the municipal laws in the State where they exist, and that the Southern people in emigrating to territories of the United States (which equally belong to all the States of the Union), have no right to carry their slave property with them beyond the State jurisdiction to which they belong. No assumption or argument can be more unsound.

Before the present constitution was formed, by an ordinance of 1787, the very year in which the constitution was adopted and while the Convention was in session, Virginia was induced to give away, as it were, or to surrender to the free States, territory from which the larger free States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, east of the Mississippi river, have been carved out. For this immense concession of land, from a great slave State to the Northern States, who feared the balance of power at that time on the part of the slave States, the free Sates, as an equivalent, cast additional guarantees around the property in slaves. When it was found Virginia had acted with so much generosity, the Convention then in session adopted into the constitution, whithout hesitation, the clause basing representation in Congress partly on slave property, and another clause binding and pledging the faith of the free States to return fugitive slaves to their owners. These pledges were what Virginia, for herself and sister States, claimed for the great cession of her Northern territory, rescued from the hostile Indians and French by the bravery of her sons, under Generals George Rogers, Clarke, Lewis and others.—(See a History of the Ordinance of 1787, by an Old Citizen of Illinois.)

That slaves have, at all times, under the constitution, been held and recognized by the government as property, admits of no dispute. The United States Supreme Court, from Chief Justice Marshall down to the present time, has uniformly decided that slaves were property.

Our government has also claimed and recognized them by the most solemn treaties with foreign governments as property. During the war of 1812 the British forces carried off a number of slaves from the Southern States. At the conclusion of the treaty of peace, made at Ghent in 1815, it was stipulatd that England should pay for the slave property thus carried off, and the agreement was complied with. Again, during Harrison and Tyler's administration, Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State, demanded from the British government payment for slave property which, by stress of weather and shipwreck, was landed on a British West India island, and which the inhabitants refused to give up. In the discussion, Mr Webster, with his masterly mind, backed by a train of irresistible arguements, showed that, under our constitution and government, slaves were recognized as property, and the British government conceded the point, and paid over the amount of their value in money, which was given to their owners. Again, the government has always made the Indians pay for stolen neroges. It has also paid for negroes lost or killed in battle. What better evidence do we want of slaves being property, and so recognized by the constitution and by every act of the government? At the South, as property, they afford the means of support to thousands of widows and orphans, and to aged persons who depend upon their services. And for abolitionists to steal them is equivalent in crime to stealing the bonds and mortgages of the same class of people at the North, and destroying them beyond recovery, leaving their owners to perish.

HAVE THE SOUTHERN STATES A RIGHT, UNDER THE EQUALITY OF STATE RIGHTS, TO EMIGRATE INTO TERRITORIES WHICH ARE THE COMMON PROPERTY OR DOMAIN OF ALL THE STATES AND DECLARED OPEN FOR SETTLEMENT OR OCCUPATION?

Under the view we have taken of the constitutional rights of the South, the question does not admit of a doubt.

To deny the right and to enforce the denial by the force of votes in Congress, or the force of arms in Kansas, would be the virtual repeal of the most solemn compacts of the constitution. To deny the Southern States their equality of rights in the Territories would be in effect not only to deny them all equality under the guarantees of the constitution, but in effect to erect or to inaugurate the edicts of a bare majority of

171812

members in Congress into a government, in the place of the constitution, and for sixteen free States to assume exclusive legislation over the rights and liberties of the fifteen slave States, and hold them as subdued provinces. Thus, under the pretext that slaves are not property beyond the limits of slave States, they change the constitutional government of the confederated States of limited powers into a despotism of the majority, with unlimited and undefined powers. To such a subversion and conquest, should the people of the South submit, they would no longer deserve to be free. This subversion of the constitution has been already indirectly attempted by a reckless black republican majority in the House of Representatives. It is clear that if this majority had a right to refuse an appropriation for the support of the army, they could in the same manner withold appropriations for the support of every other department of the government, including the pay of the Executive, the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the members of the Senate,—thus virtually terminating the present government, and concentrating in themselves legislative, judicial and executive powers—a state of things never contemplated by the framers of the constitution, or by the people of the country. Whenever a majority can be able to usurp the powers of a constitutional government, the rights and liberties of the small States will be swallowed up by the mere force of numbers in a few large States. It is extremely difficult for Americans to bear in mind—and much more so for foreigners to understand—that our national government is a confederation of sovereign States, which live under a constitution of well defined and limited powers; those not granted having been reserved to the States and to their citizens respectively. Every clause of the constitution at its adoption was voted for by States, in which the little States of Delaware and Rhode Island had as great a voice as New York and Pennsylvania. How ridiculous, then, the assumption that a majority of the people or their representatives, have the right to rule or govern irrespective of the constitution! The idea is a monstrous absurdity. They have no right to discriminate between citizens of the United States and their property, emigrating into Territories.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Every American citizen, native or adopted, is as much bound by every clause of the constitution as though he had signed it under oath; and any attempt to defeat, or to destroy any of its provisions, is virtually an act of moral treason.

A foreigner who swears to support it, and then denies or aids in the defeat of a single clause, however objectionable to his abstract ideas of

philantrophy, be it the clause to return fugitive slaves or otherwise, is guilty of perjury. And the Massachusetts Personal Liberty act has placed that State in open rebellion and nullification of her own act in affixing her signature to that glorious instrument. She has thus declared to her sister States, that though she signed the compact she repudiates it, virtually placing herself out of the pale of the Union, while claiming to continue in the enjoyment of all its advantages. The constitution contains provisions for making alterations, and points out methods for changing its character. All other modes which may be directly or indirectly resorted to for changing or overthrowing it can be nothing less than treason in disguise.

THE SOUTH ACCUSED OF THREATS TO DISSOLVE THE UNION, AND AS THE THING HAS NEVER BEEN DONE, BLACK REPUBLICANISM BLINDLY REASONS THAT IT CAN NEVER HAPPEN.

The Southern people say that their attachment to the Union has been one springing from patriotic sentiment, manifested in the late war, and throughout the existence of the government, while they charge that in a pecuniary point of view the North has received the greatest advantages from it. They say that they complained of the tariffs of 1828, 1832 and 1842, and especially of the two former, which largely discriminated against the South, and which came near producing a revolution in South Carolina, which was only averted by the compromise tariff bill of 1832. The tariff they complained of—for instance, imposed ten cents per yard on cotton bagging, imported and consumed exclusively by the South. Other articles were taxed in a similar manner.

The South, as a whole, did not threaten disunion to get rid of the unequal taxation. They declared a bare majority in Congress had no right, in violation of the national compact, to impose such an onerous and unequal tax—and South Carolina declared the law a nullity. Whereupon the compromise tariff of 1832 was adopted, and all became quiet again, as far as the tariff was concerned.

There was not any disunion sentiment again expressed at the South until David Wilmot's extra-constitutional proviso came up, which in substance proclaimed that the equality of the rights of the South in the Territories—the common property of all the States—was at an end. This proposition was a very different affair from the tariff, which chiefly excited the hostility of South Carolina against it.

The South consider Freesoilism or Black Republicanism equivalent to Abolitionism in disguise, and not only levelled at their rights in the Ter-

ritories, but against those of the States. This party, well or ill conceived, has converted the whole fifteen Southern States into the position South Carolina held against the tariff, and with tenfold more bitterness of feeling. The union of the South has never been so great before; and unless all their public men and newspapers belie them, they can be driven from and will leave the Union, should a sectional majority, in or out of Congress, in despite of the Spirit and letter of the Constitution, succeed in depriving them of their constitutional rights. Because Gen. Jackson placed himself in hostility against the single State of South Carolina, fifty Gen. Jacksons, or as many Gen. Scotts, would be utterly powerless in frightening the fifteen Southern States into submission to the annihilation of their just rights under the Constitution.

They say that they have between six and seven millions of whites who would be thoroughly united, while the North, with about thirteen millions of whites, would be divided.

No candid and well informed man can doubt that it is possible for fanaticism, under the flag of Black Republicanism, if successful in enforcing their extra-constitutional principles on the South, to dissolve this Union. Whatever the ultras of the North may belive to the contrary, there is a sentiment at the South that the people of that part of the country can get on and prosper in a state of separation.

All they say they claim is an equality of State rights under the Constitution.

They disclaim all the charges made by the Black Republicans, of having made, or wishing to make, any aggression on the North. They disclaim the idea that the Constitution authorizes either the forcible intrusion of slavery into the Territories, or its forcible expulsion from them. They being the common property of all the States, they claim the right, if they choose, of emigrating thither with their property. And that to the citizens of a territory belong the right to decide, whether they will tolerate the existence of Slavery or not.

THE BLACK PLANK OF THE BLACK REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The platform of the Black Republicans has a black plank, or a clause which declares that no more slave States shall be admitted into the Union —that is, if Cuba were fairly bought from Spain to-morrow, it would have to come in free, or not at all. Besides, all the Territories, from the Rio Grande to Kansas, and from our western frontier to the Pacific, must have inhabitants from the South excluded from them; and if they come in as States, they shall only come in as free States, or stay out. And

Colonel Fremont has accepted of this platform. While if the Canadas were bought, they could be taken in without objection. Then how can persons condemn the platform and yet support him?

THE COMPROMISES SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The first of note was the Missouri Compromise, adopted in 1820. This remained unbroken until the acquisition of California, and its admission into the Union as a State, in 1850. During the discussion growing out of the organization of the newly acquired Mexican territory, the South proposed that the compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min. should be extended direct to the Pacific Ocean, which would have given a small portion o Southern California to the South. A bill was introduced into the Senate and passed, directing the line to be so extended. On reaching the House, Mr. Seward, of the Senate, with other Freesoilers, went to work with the members of the House, and defeated it—thus refusing any longer to sustain that famous compromise. It was then declared by Mr. Calhoun and others that the North had refused to stand by the compromise, and had, in effect, repealed it; and hence the subsequent legislation, in ceasing to recognize it, was only declaring, by an enactment, what had already been done by the influence of Mr. Seward and his confederates. They went still further in 1850, and organized the Territory of New Mexico, which lies south of 36 deg. 30 min., by inserting a clause authorizing the people when they formed a State constitution, to admit or exclude Slavery as they might elect. The Kansas act did nothing more for the people of Kansas than what had already been previously done for Utah and New Mexico. The compromise line of 30 deg. 30. min. had been regarded previously as only terminating on the Pacific Ocean, and Oregon from which Washington Territory has since been formed, was organized as free territory north of that line. Had its extension to the Pacific been permanently recognized, as proposed in 1850, it would have given about three-fourths of all the territory lying between our western frontier and the Pacific to the north of the line, or about 954,000 square miles, and left, exclusive of Texas, only about one-fourth, or 202,500 square miles to the South, including a good part of Kansas. Not satisfied with this, the Black Republicans, in defiance of all constitutional rights of the South, now claim the whole, and falsely accuse the South of being the first to disregard the Missouri compromise.

The second compromise was made in 1832, on the oppressive tariff, of 1828, which was introduced by Mr. Clay. It declared that such a percentage of the tariff should come off every two years for ten years, when a uniform rate of 20 per cent. *ad valorem* should be permanently established.

The South say they submitted for ten years to what they considered a grinding oppression for the sake of Union and peace; but in 1842, and the 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duties were to benefit them, the North, when the ten years had expired, wheeled round and put up the tariff about as high as it ever had been before, and which remained in force until 1846, when the present tariff was adopted by the democrats, and which has worked so well for the country ever since. The people of the South, heretofore, consider that the North cannot justly charge them with bad faith and a disregard of compromises.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

The South is accused of being unfriendly to the freedom of speech. This was not manifested in the days of Patrick Henry, and they contend it is not now. There is a wide difference between licentiousness of speech, intended to lead to insurrection and bloodshed, and that freedom of speech recognized by organized governments and civilized communities.

Let us suppose that Messrs. Strickland & Upson had made speeches to the negroes of Mobile, and while selling those inflammatory books they had persuaded the ignorant blacks to conspire against the whites to destroy their lives, burn the town, rob the banks, seize the shipping, and escape to St. Domingo; it would have probably been justified by the *Tribune*, *Times*, and other republican papers of the North, on the ground that it was the fruit of the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press

During last winter a year ago, there was assembled a large meeting of laboring men in the Park of New York, who said they could get no work, while they and their families were suffering for food amidst abundance. Suppose a Southern man with money at his command, and fluent of speech, had addressed that multitude, telling them that they had been oppressed by the rich, that their wages had been at best scanty, and now they were turned off to starve while the rich were living in luxury, and that they had redress in their own hands; and suppose he had supplied them with arms, and advised them to open warehouses and help themselves to flour and provisions, and if in want of money, exact it from the banks, this would, in the black republican sense of the term, have been free speech; yet, it is what public opinion, and even many abolitionists themselves, would have denounced as licentiousness of speech. But at the South, the suppression of incendiary appeals of a similar character is denounced as the suppression of the liberty of speech. And black republicans talk of legitimate freedom and free speech

just as though either has ever been invaded in any of the States since the adoption of the constitution. The effects of licentiousness of speech was seen in the Astor Opera House Riot, when over twenty persons were shot down by the military, several of whom were peaceable citizens, merely present as spectators..

Those who led on that riot by free speech and a free press as they are falsely termed, when thus prostituted to the vilest purposes were sent to the penitentiary.

The effects of licentiousness of speech and of the press, inflamed by a spirit of bigotry were shown when a mob in Massachusetts applied the midnight torch to a religious asylum, and drove helpless females to seek safety by flight in the darkness of the night.

WAGES OF LABOR OF THE WHITES NORTH AND SOUTH.

There is no part of the South where white labor, and especially mechanical labor, is not better paid, and especially in the cotton and sugar districts, than it is at the North. We have not space to give comparative tables, which would be quite easy were it necessary. There are but two classes at the South—whites and blacks, and there is no part of the world where there is a greater equality than there is among the whites irrespective of the more conventional distinction of wealth.

EMIGRATION PROMOTED AND WHITE LABOR MADE MORE REMUNERATIVE BY THE SLAVE LABOR OF THE SOUTH.

It has been estimated on reliable data that it requires between 2,000 and 3,000 ships to transport one crop of cotton, to say nothing of other slave products. These vessels, when reaching Europe, bring back merchandize less bulky than cotton, tobacco, rice, &c.—which leaves large space unoccupied, and which they find it profitable to fill with steerage or emigrant passengers, at a very low rate of fare—a rate which would be unattainable were it not for the large number of vessels engaged in the cotton trade ; so that the great influx of emigrants at the North has been largely promoted by the slave labor of the South. Not only so, but the white labor of the North has been largely promoted and sustained by the South. The laborers in shipbuilding have been benefited. The labor employed in domestic manufactories, to a large amount, which supply the South with shoes and hats, ready mad clothing, and with a vast amount of machinery, has all been better employed and better paid on account of the patronage of the fifteen Southern States, than it possibly could have been without it.

These facts prove that the interests of all sections are intertwined, and

that the country has made the greatest progress as a whole, in a common Union and under a common constitution. Hence the worst enemy to free labor at the North is that party, by whatever name called, whose principles are most at variance with the constitution and Union of the States, such as we deem those of the black republicans to be. And suppose the negroes once liberated at the South, would they not come in swarms to the North and compete with white labor? So that the very red republican socialists of Germany and other parts of Europe who have become abolitionized in the United States, and are enlisted as enemies and fighters agains the South, are indebted for their cheap conveyance hither and their best support when here to the cotton bales of the South

MORMONISM, SPIRITUALISM AND FOURIERISM UNKNOWN IN THE SLAVE STATES.

One clause of the black republican platform sneeringly denounces slavery and Mormonism in the same sentence. Whatever else the South may be charged with, its people have never embraced a single "ism" at the head of this chapter. In all the South there is said not to be found a single Mormon. This monstrous and beastly sect is exclusively of free State origin. Joe Smith, its founder, was a native of New England, and went from the western part of New York to Illinois, where he established the sect at Nauvoo. Brigham Young, the present head of the Church at Salt Lake, is also from New England, as well as a large number of his followers. The two girls who originated the miserable delusion of spiritualism, belong to Rochester, New York. It is at the North where Fourierite Farms and Phalananxes are formed, and none have ever existed at the South.

Freesoilism, and all the other isms referred to, are more intimately and closely allied than Slavery and Mormonism.

We come next to arguments in favor of the perpetuity of the Union, drawn from the commercial and pecuniary relations of the States, and proceed to show, first:

THE INTEREST OF THE NORTH IN THE NEGRO SLAVERY OF THE SOUTH.

It is easy to show that the cultivation of cotton in the United States has put the whole country one hundred years ahead of what it would have been without it. Not only so, but it has largely contributed to the advancement of commerce and civilization over the world.

It is estimated that not less than two hundred millions of the inhabitants of the civilized globe are now clothed in whole or in part with cotton fab-

ries supplied by the looms of Europe and America, four-fifths of the raw material for which are supplied by the Southern States of the United States.

The question of the continuance of Negro Slavery at the South is not circumscribed to this continent, but it is also a vital question to England especially, whether she is to continue in the supply of two million bales of cotton annually, or suffer consequences few have contemplated. It is also a question to Europe and to the civilized world. In 1785, the first four bales of cotton ever exported from the United States were landed at Liverpool, and were seized by the revenue officers, who believed that they were smuggled, under the supposition that cotton could not be produced in this country. By the year 1800, the cultivation had increased to 40,000 bales, worth about three millions of dollars. From that time to the present, the production has been most extraordinary. The supply, in 1855–56, has actually reached, in round numbers, 3,527,845 bales, which, valued at $45 per bale, gives a total value of $158,763,025. Of this supply we have sent over 2,946,291 bales to Europe, England having taken about 2,000,000 bales. The value of the export to foreign countries of the supply of 1855–56 has amounted to the sum of about $133,583,095. Out of this export the North has received in freights about $11,000,000. The goods purchased in Europe, based upon the exports of cotton, are brought back, not to the ports from whence the produce is shipped, but to Northern ports, and chiefly to New York, where the jobbers or distributors buy from importers, and, by obtaining credit in the city banks, are enabled to pay importers after four months' credit, and at the sama time give a credit of six and twelve months to southern purchasers. The banks are thus kept up to a great extent by the cheap and abundant supply of bills of exchange, by far the largest amounts of which are drawn against the shipments of cotton. And were such a catastrophe possible, that not a bale of cotton could be exported in six or twelve months, every bank at the North would be compelled to suspend specie payments, as every dollar of specie would be drawn by the European demand.

The South being an agricultural country, the people have but little use for banks. According to the latest returns, there are in the United States about 1,400 banks. Of these 1,025 are located in the free States of the North, 346 of which are in the State of New York, which have an aggregate capital of $98,000,000. Of this number 56 are in the city of New York—the chief importing city of the country. While the sixteen free States contain 1,025 banks, the fifteen slave States contain only 381. The

capital invested in banks at the South is only $107,629,263, while at the North it amounts to about $234,464,825. To sustain this immense banking system, the exports of Southern products, and subsequent distribution of imported goods, are absolutely necessary. The North has also had the largest share of all the corruptions growing out of banks, from over-issues, counterfeit bills, &c.; and in the fall of the United States Bank in Philadelphia, from mismanagement, the South was a heavy loser. Whole fortunes in Charleston and other Southern towns, where its stock was largely held, were swept off.

We thus see that the North is largely interested in slave labor, as a means of sustaining its banks, and especially those in its seaport cities.

To what extent manufacturers, mechanics and laborers at the North depend upon slave labor for support it is difficult to say.

There are three millions of slaves. We may ask, from whence are their shoes, hats and the chief part of their clothing obtained? The answer is, at the North. From whence does the South obtain its plantation tools, with saw and grist mills, cotton cleaning and sugar grinding machinery? At the North. From whence are its chief supplies of cattle, breadstuffs and provisions drawn? From the free States of the North and West. Where are the coasting vessels, the ships in the export trade of the South, and the steamboats employed in her waters, built and owned? Almost exclusively at the North. Where are the principal cotton domestic goods produced for Southern consumption? At the North. Massachusetts alone, last year, produced $36,000,000 worth of cotton goods, the chief consumption of which was at the South. We can only, therefore, count the interest of the North in the Negro Slavery of the South by millions annually, giving employment to thousands upon thousands of daily laborers, over the whole North, who are taught by the Black Republicans the monstrous falsehood that the South and its slavery are their worst enemies and oppressoes, and that all this immense annual interest must be sacrificed for the abstract dogmas and clap-trap nonsense of shrieks about freedom They declare that the slave power must be resisted, when at this very moment the President, with a majority of both houses of Congress, are from the North; and of the three candidates for the Presidency, the South does not present one, the whole three being citizens of the free States.

The exports of Southern products during the past year may be set down as follows:—

Cotton, - - - - -	$133,583,095
Tobacco, (estimated to be the same as last year,)	14,000,000
Rice and naval stores, lumber and staves, -	6,000,000
Total, - - -	$153,583,095

Of this sum the North, it is estimated, have received a clear profit of not less than 30 per cent. Some fix the amount as high as 33 per cent; but take the former sum and it will give, for one year alone, a profit to the North of $45,000,000, of which sum $11,000,000 was paid in freight alone.

Black Republicanism, in its frenziad fanaticism, would say, perish all this and the Union with it, rather than their dogmas should fall to the ground.

Suppose, after all, that they could succeed in destroying the Union, and in overthrowing all this prosperity and happiness on the part of the whites as well as the blacks, whether free or bond, would the negroes be any better off? Not at all; but they would be infinitely worse off than now. Then what madness to carry on this sectioual crusade.

Taking the value of exports for a period of about thirty-five years as a test of the nation's progress in wealth and prosperity, and what have the slave States contributed to that result in that time? After wading through a large mass of official statistics, we find that the value of exports of Southern produce, from the 1st January, 1821, to the 30th of June, 1856, compiled from the American Almanac, and the official Government Statistics of Commerce and Navigation, have been as follows:

Cotton, - - -	$1,968,410,902
Tobacco, - - -	250,533,676
Rice. - - -	70,725,850
Total, - -	$2,289,670,428

This immense sum is exclusive of naval stores, staves, lumber, flour and grain.

During the same period, the whole amount of breadstuffs exported (part supplied by the South) was only $680,899.525.

These immense surplus products of the South, sent abroad, have contributed largely to liquidate the debts of the United States incurred during the Revolution, and also those contracted during the late wars with England and Mexico.

THE EXPORTS OF THE SOUTH HAVE ADDED TO THE NATIONAL DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.

The 2,000 to 3,000 ships employed in the transportation of bulky Southern products, necessarily afford a school for the rearing and training of a vast number of sailors, who are absolutely necessary to man our vessels of war, and especially in time of foreign hostilities. Assuming the number of ships required for the transportation of one year's yield of Southern produce to be 2,500, and the average number of sailors and officers to man them to be 25 each, we shall find that these ships annually employ a marine force of 62,500 seamen.

When our Government was applied to by foreign Governments, to know if we would abolish privateering, the proposal was declined, because those 2,000 or 3,000 cotton ships, in time of war, could be readily enlisted as a formidable fleet of privateersmen, and add greatly to our national defence. In this point of view, the transportation of Southern products is greatly more important to our shipping interest than the conveyance of gold as freight. One or two large vessels could transport all the gold that has been, or probably ever will be, supplied by all the gold fields of California or Australia.

WEAKNESS AT THE NORTH FROM ELEMENTS OF ANARCHY, WHICH, WHEN STRONGLY DEVELOPED, CAN ONLY END IN MILITARY DESPOTISM, OR THE ONE MAN POWER.

The tendency to the accumulation of wealth on one hand at the North, and the progress in poverty and pauperism on the other, are every year on the increase, and drawing a broader gulf between the two extremes. There is as wide and almost as impassable a gulf between the crowded and squalid tenants of the Five Points, Cow Bay, and Avenue A and Fifth avenue, as there is between Saffron Hill and St. Giles, in London, and the purlieus of Apsley House or Buckingham Palace, with this difference—the men of the lower crust in New York have a vote upon the property and welfare of the nabobs of the Fifth avenue, while in London they have not- Not only so, such has been the increase of pauperism in New York of late years, that Mr. Headley, the Secretary of State, in his late report, stated that the paupers supported at the public expense were equal to one in seventeen, or, in other words, every seventeen persons have to support one pauper; and he says, that should pauperism go on increasing at the same ratio, that in fifteen years hence every five persons will have to support one pauper.

These paupers all possess the right of suffrage, and can vote or legislate over the property of those at whose expense they are suyported.

Paupers get to believe that they have a right be supported by the property of producers, and they will claim their share, by voting for demagogues, or by violence. In an issue of this kind, those who have property had rather share it with a military man or limited monarch for protection, than to divide it with paupers and anarchists, who can only despoil them, and leave them without protection. At the South, the anarchical element is supplied by the blacks, who possess no political power of voting, and aspire to no political influence. Hence, pauperism is almost unknown in the planting regions of the South, and such a thing as poor house is unseen. Because, let the crops be destroyed, barns burnt, or things go as they m[illegible] the owner of slaves is compelled to feed and clothe his slaves; and if [illegible] cannot do so he is compelled to transfer them by sale or hire them t[illegible] those who can. On the contrary, if the manufacturers of the North a[illegible] pinched by hard times, or have their factories burnt, they can at any moment turn off 600 or 1,000 healthy and able operatives, whose labor contributes to support the aged, infirm, sick and feeble women and children, who must then live by the charity of the public or starve. Every year sordid capitalists are adding to the pauper population of the North, and compelling those who never shared in the profits of operative labor to contribute to their support. The anarchical elements of New York prevail in the same ratio in Philadelphia and Boston, and will spread and augment as population and wealth at the North are augmented.

The South, at all times, has been the most democratic and most conservative part of the Union. The first development of the anarchical element at the North is seen in the corruption and extravagance of its legislation. This element is most developed in New York, whose city expenditures show that the agents of the people on the anarchical side have made free use of the public money. This feeling of extravagance has been carried by the North into Congress, as well as into their Legislatures. The South, on the contrary, have held back both at Washington and in their Legislatures, as will be seen from the following comparison of the debts of the free and slace States:—

As a dike to this element of anarchy at the North, the aristocracy of wealth, in case of the separation of the Union, would probably aim at restricting the elective franchise. This, if successful through a violent revolution or otherwise, of itself would virtually end the Republican form of government, and destroy the vital principle of Democracy, the will of

the majority, exercised under the constitution—a principle about which Black Republicanism, while unmeaningly prating, would overthrow, were their unconstitutional schemes once enforced upon the country.

THE DEBTS OF THE FREE STATES.

Debts of the sixteen free States, according to statistics carefully compiled by the American Almanac, with a population of twelve millions, to January and May, 1855, amount to the sum of - $130,400,388 15

Debts of Northern cities, of which New York, Boston, and Philadelphia owe ($30,000,000,) - -	58,347.591 00
Bonds issued by counties in the free States, -	5,000,000 00
Total, - - - -	$193,747,979 15

TOTAL POPULATION (FREE AND SLAVE) OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

Total whites, - - - - - - -	6,552,968
Slaves, - - - - - - -	3,204,313
Total population, - - - - -	9,757,281
Total debts of the 15 slave States - -	$87,648,432 00
Total debts of Southern cities, of which New Orleans and Baltimore owe $23,220,157) - - -	29,518,198 00
Bonds issued by counties - - - - -	none.
Total, - - - - - -	$116,166,630 00

The total exports of the North for the past year, taken from official records, were about $120,000,000, including the reshipment of Southern products, while the exports of Southern produce amounted to - - - - - - - $153,583,095

Difference in public debts in favor of the South, -	77,481,349
Difference in exports, ditto, - - -	33,583,095

The U. S. census of 1850 shows the average of wealth per head is greater at the South than at the North. South Carolina and Louisiana show the largest average of any States in the Union to population. And according to population it is greater in Kentucky than in Ohio.

The destruction of the South would be the overthrow of the strongest conservative element in the national government, so that the unthinking multitude, misguided by fanaticism as they are, in working for the overthrow of the South and with it the Union, are only working for their own ultimate enslavement, and of those to come after them. In seeking not to improve but to ruin the negro under abstract humbugs of equality and

fraternity (of blacks and whites), they are only striving to enslave the whites, in the blind crusade in favor of the negro. Hence the old adage of "whom the gods wish to overthrow they first make mad." If let alone time will settle the whole question. At the well-known ratio of increase, by the end of this centmry we shall have one hundred millions of whites against some fifteen or twenty millions of blacks. By that time the acclimated whites will be compelled to seek the labor now performed by blacks, when the latter will generally perish or disappear, as they have done in New York and other places. Were they freed to-morrow, their extermination would only be accelerated, and to the incalculable injury of the whites.

TO PRODUCE THE UNEXAMPLED PROSPERITY OF EIGHTY YEARS UNDER OUR PRESENT CONSTITUTION AND UNION, ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, LIKE A BAND OF BROTHERS, HAVE NOBLY CONTRIBUTED—THE NORTH AS WELL AS THE SOUTH, THE WEST AS WELL AS THE EAST.

If the cultivation of cotton at the South has put the country one hundred years in advance, commercially and financially, of what it would have been without it, New England has been the means of putting the country vastly in advance in education to what it otherwise would have been. The example of her free schools has now become almost universal over the Union. The enterprise of the North in internal improvements has been the means of giving a vast impulse to the same spirit in every part of the country. The useful inventions in arts and sciences of the North have been of great national advantage, and especially to the South. Her great men have belonged as much to the South as to the North. The victories of Hull and of Perry were matters of as much joy to the people of the South as the North. The discoveries of a Franklin, of a Whitney, of a Fulton, or of a Morse, are as much admired and boasted of at the South as at the North; not because they were sectional, but because they were American. The triumph of Northern-built ocean steamers and packets, with the triumphs of the Grinnell exploring expeditions, to which they contributed to fit out, are matters of pride and boast to the South as well as to the North, because they belong to America. Like brothers, under Washington, arm in arm, they went through the Revolution for Independence. Like kindred patriots, they went through the war of 1812, and rejoiced together over victories won on the fields of Saratoga, Lundy's Lane, New Orlean's, and in Mexico. But, oh heavens! what do we now witness? Brethren of one country, of one race, and of one destiny, engaged in bloodshed and civil war. And for what? About a mere abstract idea relative to negroes! Is it thus, and for such insane fanaticism, that the

descendants of the Ho[illegible]ks, Shermans, Henrys, Greens, and Lees must plunge daggers into each other's bosoms? God forbid! Far better and more glorious would it have been for them to have fallen before the enemy on the plains of Chippewa, at the breastworks of New Orleans, or in the storming the heights of Chepultepec.

By stabbing each other in this insane conflict in Kansas, we are stabbing the constitution and the Union of our common country, the peace of our firesides, and the progress of human liberty under the yoke of despotic governments throughout the world. Shall we pause or plunge over the precipice?

Let others do as they may. My creed, now and for ever, shall be pro-constitution and pro-Union.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New York, Sept. 24, 1856.

To be had at the Offices of the DAILY NEWS *and* DAY BOOK, *and at* TAMMANY HALL, *New York.*